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Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version
Zeitschriftenartikel / journal article

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Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:

Disson, J. (2008). Privileged noble high schools and the formation of Russian national elites in the first part of the 19th century. *Historical Social Research*, 33(2), 174-189. <https://doi.org/10.12759/hsr.33.2008.2.174-189>

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Privileged Noble High Schools and the Formation of Russian National Elites in the First Part of the 19th Century

*Julia Disson**

Abstract: Universities and 'gymnasias' were the two main types of institutions in the Russian educational system of the 19th century. However between these two there was a group of 7 special institutions destined mainly for nobles. In their middle position these institutions were endowed with some particular privileges that made their graduates students equal to those of the Universities and contributed to the formation of elites. They were: the noble pensions of Moscow and Saint-Petersburg Universities and 5 Lyceums (situated in Russian cities without Universities: Bezborodko Lyceum (Nezhin), Richelieu Lyceum (Odessa), Volynsky Lyceum, Demidov Lyceum (Yaroslavl) and Lyceum in Tsarskoe Selo). They were state institutions (but several were founded thanks to the donations of noble families) functioned in the first half of the 19th century and were closed or reformed in the 1830-40s because of the unifications of the educational system in Russia. Hundreds of noble students got their education in these institutions. We base our research on the lists of students who graduated from these institutions. We have accomplished a prosopographical study, tracing the careers of these students and estimating their contribution to the national elites. We also point out their membership in the reputational elites (according to the national biographical dictionaries and encyclopaedias). We evaluate their success in the military or civil service, model different types of careers and describe the contribution of this noble elite to the nation building process.

It's always difficult to define vague social notions like that of "elite", since it is necessary to find more or less exact criteria that enable to classify a person as a part of the elite. In 19th century Russia there were, however, official criteria to this effect. They were the so called ranks. Nobility was Russian privileged class and before the time of Peter the Great the main role was played by the nobility and the ancientness of its background, but since 1722 a new system of classification was introduced by the emperor that created a new hierarchy among the nobility. That was "The table of ranks" a formal list of positions and ranks in the military, the government, and the court of Imperial Russia.

In the early 19th century education and university certificates start playing an essential role for the acquisition of positions in the state, without this it was

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now difficult to become a part of ruling and service elite. The government started to pay particular attention to education and specially that of the noble estate, closest to power. In the beginning of the 19th century a complex educational system was formed in Russia. The main principles on which this system was based were its hierarchical but universal character and accessibility for all the social classes. The top position in this hierarchy was attributed to the Universities the next place in the scale of ranks belonged to the gymnasies, the lower step was occupied by *utchilisha* and finally the most primitive education for common people mainly could be obtained in parish schools – most of which remained to be created.

The nobles however did not consider public education essential for their career. Most of the nobles felt suspicious about the universities and gymnasies and preferred domestic education by private teachers who were mostly foreigners and hardly ever professionals. Having as a goal to attract nobles to the proper education, the government resorted to different measures. The idea was to connect the possibility of career promotion with university education. This idea was officially formulated in one of the first documents of the recently established Ministry of public education of 1803, “The preliminary rules of Ministry of public education”. They also tried to force nobles to study. For this purpose a famous decree of rank exams was edited in 1809 that made the career of nobles dependant on their education. The most significant ranks could be obtained only after a special exam that required university training¹. This made a problem with nobles who still disliked the idea of letting their children enter universities where they had to meet representatives of other social classes. Their attitude towards the gymnasies was not any better.

In this situation the government began to found special institutions that made more comfortable and convenient for nobles to obtain the knowledge necessary for state service. As a result a group of seven special educational institutions was formed by the 1820s. They distinguished themselves from the hierarchy of Russian educational system by their intermediary position. That’s to say, that by their status they were close to universities and higher then gymnasies.

It’s possible to say that they were the only institutions outside of the system. But still being a part of Russian public education they had to define their place in the system. So all through their history they were comparing themselves with other educational agencies, notably to universities. It was their close but changeable position towards universities that determined their position in the educational hierarchy.

These seven high schools formed a special branch in the general hierarchy. Their specificities were due to different reasons, but the most significant of

¹ Sbornik rasporiagieniy po ministerstvu narodnogo prosvetshenia, vol. I, Saint-Petersburg, 1898, p. 510-517.

these was the desire of the government to attract the nobles to education and the reservations of the nobles about universities. They provided better living conditions, they often assured the best teachers and, which was the most important, – they gave their graduates privileges – grades according to “The table of ranks” and also saved them from the obligation to pass the exam prescribed for all officials in 1809. That’s to say they were very helpful for their career, securing or at least promising a good start. As far as their program is concerned, it had a so called encyclopedic character. It meant a very vast number of subjects that were taught to the young nobles. At the same time the level of teaching was not as high as it was at universities, though it was significantly better than in gymnasies. According to some graduates, the great number of subjects, far from contributing, rather hampered the acquirement of a serious training.

The first of these high schools was the noble pension of Moscow University. It was founded in 1779 as a result of the separation of a part of the university’s noble gymnasies which happened because of the desire of some nobles to provide more comfortable conditions, extra attention and isolation from non-noble students for their children. Soon this pension became very popular.

Less successful was Demidov *utchilitshe* founded in Yaroslavl in 1803 on donations of a sponsor P. G. Demidov. It did not enjoy a similar popularity apparently because – contrary to the Moscow pension –the *utchilitshe* of Demidov was not closed for the representatives of different social classes, even if it remained destined mainly for nobles who where not wealthy enough to afford private professors.

In 1811 the most famous Russian Lyceum in Tsarskoe Selo was opened. Its project was thoroughly elaborated and it was realized by distinguished and talented officials, even the emperor himself participated in it, which proves that it was regarded as of state importance. This Lyceum was initially specially destined to form the new governmental elite.

In the first 10 years of the 19th century such institutions were exceptional and at this stage they hardly formed a cluster of educational agencies, but the situation changed after the war of 1812. With the appointment of a new minister of public instruction the attitude towards universities became less favorable. They were considered unsafe and as a source of dangerous antigovernmental ideas coming from the West. The institutions of special type benefited from these situations. Now they were under particular attention of the power that began to consider them as a more reliable (and easier to control) alternative to rebellious universities. Thus the years 1817-1820 witnessed the foundation of 4 new similar institutions: Richelieu Lyceum in Odessa (May 1817), the noble pension of Saint-Petersburg University (August 1817), Volynsky Lyceum in Kremenets (1819) and Bezborodko gymnasies of high sciences (later transformed into Lyceum) in Nezhin (1820).

Also in 1818 the noble pensions in Moscow and Saint-Petersburg where endowed with some particular privileges that made the position of their graduates

equal to those of the Universities. Similarly, existing since 1779, the Moscow noble pension obtained a new status.

These were the privileges that made the institutions so significant and special in the educational system of that period. The mark of special status and elite character of these schools were the grade ranks that their graduates could obtain at the end of the course. The main privilege was the donation of grade ranks.

A grade rank in 18th-19th century Russia played the major part in the definition of person's status. The rank was an absolute category and had universal character. The Table of Ranks determined a person's position and status according to the position in the civil service, rather than to birth or seniority. The Table places every military, civil or court rank in hierarchy of fourteen grades, ranked from 1 to 14. Every official of the state had to qualify for the corresponding grade in order to be promoted; the grades of 1 to 5 were granted personally by the Emperor. Even commoners who achieved a certain level on "The Table" were ennobled automatically. A civil officer promoted to 14th grade was entitled to personal nobility, while the 8th grade created him a hereditary noble; military officers enjoyed hereditary nobility starting right with 14th grade (in 1856, the grades required for hereditary nobility were shifted up to 4th grade for civil service and 6th grade for military service)².

The noble pension of Moscow University was always popular being until the 1810s the only state educational institution that could guarantee public service-oriented education and isolation from the other social groups. The decree of 1809 about exams necessary for the grade ranks essentially added to this popularity, having made the pension the most comfortable means to enter the university.

But it was the donation of rights to give its students on graduation ranks from the 14th to the 10th that made the pension even more attractive for the nobles as an alternative to the universities³. After the graduation from universities the highest rank for the students was 12th. So in spite of the lower level of education the pension secured more substantial privileges and made enrollment into the university unnecessary, its graduates not needing university knowledge neither for their career nor for the exams prescribed by the decree of 1809 since they were exempted from the latter.

The same privileges were conferred upon the Saint-Petersburg noble pension⁴. As for the Lyceum in Tsarskoe Selo, because of its initial extra-privileged character, it received even higher privileges as soon as it was

² Shepelev L.I. *Otmenennye istoriei chiny, zvania I tituly v Rossiyskoy Imperii*, Leningrad, 1977.

³ *Sbornik postanovleniy po ministerstvu narodnogo prosvetshenia*, vol. I, Saint-Petersburg, 1875, p. 1137-1139.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1137-1139.

opened. Its students could obtain the ranks from 14 to 9⁵. Demidov *utchilitshe* and Bezborodko gymnasia of high sciences being destined not only for noble children, they had a less privileged status and provided lower privileges. Their students got 14th to 12th grade ranks, that is to say the same as those of university students⁶. Most students of Richelieu Lyceum also had ranks from the 14th to the 12th, but the students of its department called Pedagogical institution could get the 9th rank, but only after 6 years of teaching service⁷.

It's possible to say that during a limited period of time since 1818 to 1830s the institutions in question really represented an alternative to the universities and were more attractive to nobles. As they were privileged and could be promotional to the career, both by its high ranks that gave a good career start and by the education concentrated on the knowledge especially necessary for the civil or military service.

However in 1822, in order to diminish the disparity among various agencies of higher education, the ranks of university graduates were raised (from 14th for students and 12th for candidates to 12th and 10th respectively), that is, they were made equal to those of the noble pensions of Moscow and Saint-Petersburg Universities and even higher than those of all the other institutions that had special status (except Lyceum in Tsarskoe Selo). The Lyceum in Tsarskoe Selo remained the only one with a superior position, more privileged than universities.

At the same time the attitude of the government towards these institutions changed. They were not any more considered as a proper alternative to the universities, rather as a menace for the real university level education. This opinion became dominant in the Ministry of education already in 1821⁸. This and their intermediary position in the educational system lead to their disgrace with the new Emperor Nicolas I whose highest priority was strict, close to military order. These high schools for him also represented a possibly dangerous source of rebellious spirit, because of their students' traditional sense of community and the fact that a considerable number of the Decembrists(participants of the famous uprising in December 1825) were connected to some of these institutions. As a result in the 1830s these special institutions undergo a number of reforms with the objective to lower their status. Some of them were even closed down.

In order to estimate the contribution of this special group of high schools to the formation of Russian elites, we have to study their students and graduates. Russian and Ukrainian Archives can provide data on this question. One of the

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 634.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 384, p. 1835.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.1012.

⁸ Rogdestvensky S. V., *Istorichesky obzor deiatelnosti ministerstva narodnogo prosviatshenia 1802-1902*, Saint-Petersburg, 1902, p. 785.

essential approaches to this question is the number of students educated in the institutions.

The growth of popularity of the noble pension of Moscow University is visible in table 1. It also shows the influence of the decree of rank exams edited in 1809 that added to the popularity of the pension as well as that of the decree of 1818 that donated special privileges to this institution and its graduates.

Table 1: The number of students of the noble pension of Moscow University⁹

School year	1779	1780	1804	1809	1810	1811	1814
Number of students	12	50	210	225	275	305	110
School year	1815	1816	1817	1821	1822	1823	1829
Number of students	109	116	94	289	280	250	279

The number of students in the noble pension of Saint-Petersburg was considerably less: we have this information for the year 1828 when 108 young nobles studied in the pension and for the last year of its existence 1830-1831 when the number of students was 151¹⁰. This difference between two officially very similar institutions can be explained by the rich traditions of the Moscow pension, its good reputation earned during many years and its gifted direction.

Institutions that endowed with lower privileges for their graduates also differed in the number of their students. Richelieu Lyceum in Odessa was a complex institution consisting of several sections and had on average 250-300 students. But since 1821 (the year when the policy of the Ministry became less favorable for the special high schools) the share of students who did not live in Lyceum, but only came to study began to grow and those of the boarders decreased considerably¹¹. The same tendency we can notice in Bezborodko gymnasium of high sciences: where out of 249 students in 1826 69 were boarders (of which only 34 paid for their tutition) and by 1832 only 26 were boarders (only 5 paid for education) while 332 came only to study¹². The least popular was Demidov *utchilitshe* in Yaroslavl where the number of students during the first

⁹ Source: Moskovskie vedomosti, № 100, 1778, № 99, 1779; Sostav Moskovskogo universiteta za 1804-1812 gody, in Russian State Historic Archive (RGIA), 33, 95, 179-186. Kratkie otchety o sostoianii Moskovskogo universitetskogo pansiona za 1814-1817, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1829. Moscow, 1817-1830.

¹⁰ Central State Historic Archive of Saint-Petersburg (TsGIA SPb), 67, 1, 69; 86.

¹¹ Mikhnevitch I., Istorichesky obzor sorokaletia Rishelievskogo litseia s 1817 po 1857 gody, Odessa, 1857, p. 101.

¹² Lavrovsky N.A. Gimnazia vysshikh nauk kniazia Bezborodko v Negine, Kiev, 1879, p. 34.

five years was less than 50, and the maximum number – 135 was attended in 1828¹³.

The largest number of students could be found in Volynsky Lyceum in Kremenets: it had regularly between 550 and 685 students. This institution was also specific because it was destined mainly for the Polish nobility of the region, so Polish was even the language of teaching and almost all professors were Polish. Being a part of the Russian educational system this Lyceum had to face a problem of coeducation of students of different confessions and nationalities. Volynsky Lyceum had only one Russian teacher who taught Russian language, literature and history. Since 1824 orthodox students had a special priest who taught them Religion. Table 2 shows what estates and confessional clusters were represented in the Lyceum taking as an example the 1827-1828 school year.

Table 2: Estate and religion of students of Volynsky Lyceum in Kremenets in 1827-1828¹⁴

		Students
<i>Estate</i>	nobility	528
	the petty bourgeoisie	34
	clergy	25
	Peasants set free	6
<i>Religion</i>	Orthodox	36
	Uniate	28
	Catholic	518
	Evangelical	6
	Judaic	9
Total number of students		597

The Moscow archive can provide information that shed light on some details about students of the noble pensions of Moscow and Demidov *utchilitshe* (Yaroslavl).

A list of students of Demidov *utchilitshe* (not shown here) gives the student s' names and the social position of their fathers, together with their grade. The list demonstrates that although the *utchilitshe* accepted students from all the free social classes, most of them (22) either came from families having the highest 8 ranks according to "The Table of ranks" or were in military service which assured hereditary nobility. Only 12 students were children of officials who had lower ranks that might mean personal nobility and only 8 had non-noble background, while two of them were sons of clergymen.

¹³ Golovshikov K., Cherty gizni i deiatelnosti Iaroslavskogo Demidovskogo vysshikh nauk utchilichsha I potom litseia, Yaroslavl, 1869, p. 59.

¹⁴ Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kiev (TsDIAK of Ukraine), 710, 2, 61.

We have complete information about final year students of the noble pensions of Moscow. Starting with 1821, the archive has annual lists of graduates with some personal information is given: their name, age, rank (according to "The Table of ranks"), father's name and grade rank and often also the date of entering the pension and the time spent till the final stage of studies.

It is possible to study the background of graduates of Moscow pension on the strength of their fathers grade ranks mentioned in every yearly report except that of 1827, the year that followed the most substantial revisions and attempts of reformation for the pension (table 3). The chart shows that graduates' parents were holding ranks from the 2nd to the 14th, but most of them were sons of the officials who achieved some middle position in the Table of ranks (6th-9th ranks).

Table 3: The noble pension of Moscow students' parents' grade ranks; 1821-1830¹⁵

Father's grade rank number		II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	No information	Total
Year of graduation	1821		2	2		6	2	3			1											18
	1822			2	1	3	1	2	1												1	11
	1823	1	2			1	3	6	4		1									2		20
	1824					3	2	4	3		2		1			3	2				1	21
	1825			4	1	5	1	2		1				1		1				2	1	19
	1826			1	1	3	1	1	4	1			1			2					1	16
	1827																				37	37
	1828	1		4		2	2	5	5	1		1		1				1			2	25
	1829			1		2		2	2		1					2					1	11
	1830			1	1	2	3	4	2			1									4	18
Total		2	4	15	4	27	15	29	21	3	5	2	2	2	9	3	5				48	196

The Example of 3 different years allows the examination of some personal details of the final year students of the pension. In 1821 18 students were getting ready to graduate. All of them were from noble families 12 students being sons of civil officials and only 4 fathers having ranks of military service. The grade ranks of civil officers are considerably higher than those of the military.

¹⁵ Central Historical Archive of Moscow (TsIAM), 459,1,1691;1934; 2060; 2291; 2548; 2876; 3195; 3452; 3721; 3902.

There were 4 students whose fathers held one of the 5 highest ranks of “The Table”, the most frequent rank for this year was the 6th.

The Situation in 1826 was different in some aspects. There were 16 graduates on the list, among which we can see not only offspring of the families having one of the 8 highest civil ranks or military ranks that assured hereditary nobility, but 5 students with lower ranks as well, which means that their fathers might have had personal nobility. As it could be seen in the previous table, most of the fathers were civil servants and only 7 were military. On average the ranks were lower: only one student was son of a 4th rank official, another one was an issue from a 5th rank family and the most frequently mentioned rank for this year is the 9th. The situation is very similar in the list of 1830 containing 18 names of last year students. Most of their fathers had 7th, 8th, 9th ranks of civil service.

We also have at our disposal the complete lists of graduates for some of the institutions in question. These lists are published and contain more or less reliable and comparable data. Among them are the Bezborodko gymnasia of high sciences in Nejin (later transformed into Lyceum) and the Lyceum in Tsarskoe Selo. It's interesting to compare the lists, because they show the difference between these two institutions. On the one hand they both represent the same type of educational institution of intermediary position in the Russian educational system. On the other hand they demonstrate a measure of differentiation inside this little group. Bezborodko gymnasia of high sciences is one of the least privileged of the group (since even children of non noble origin could be admitted there) while the Lyceum in Tsarskoe Selo was undoubtedly the most privileged and prestigious institution of that kind.

The following tables (4-9) enable us to compare the initial grade that students obtained on graduation, their final success and their career choice.

Table 4: Rank on graduation. Bezborodko Lyceum in Nezhin

number of students	rank on graduation		
year of graduation	Кандидат (12)	Действи. Студент (14)	Total
1826	6	5	11
1827	3		3
1828	5	5	10
1829	6	7	13
1830	4	7	11
1831	6	14	20
1832	8	9	17
1833	6	11	17
Total	44	58	102

It is essential to point out that the total number of students in the Lyceum in Tsarskoe Selo was more than the double of that in the of Bezborodko gymnasia of high sciences. This is due to the shorter period of existence of Bezborodko gymnasia of high sciences as a privileged institution and the fact that, being able to grant higher ranks, the Lyceum in Tsarskoe Selo always attracted more students although their number was limited by its very Statute.

Table 5: Rank on graduation. Lyceum in Tsarskoe Selo

number of students	rank on graduation						
year of graduation	9	10	12	14	Guard officer (12)	Army officer (14)	Total
<i>1817</i>	9	8			7	5	29
<i>1820</i>	10	5	1		6	3	25
<i>1823</i>	6	5	2		9	2	24
<i>1826</i>	11	2	2		8	1	24
<i>1829</i>	11	2	4		8		25
<i>1832</i>	17	1	6				24
<i>1835</i>	15	4	3	3			25
<i>1836</i>	9	4	7	2			22
<i>1838</i>	8	2	6	2			18
<i>1839</i>	12	3	5				20
<i>1841</i>	15	5	4	4			28
<i>1842</i>	13	5	4				22
Total	136	46	44	11	38	11	286

The numbers of the tables reveal the fact that the majority of Tsarskoselskiy Lyceum graduates actually received the highest possible rank (9th), while the graduates of Bezborodko gymnasia of high sciences were gratified more often by the lowest possible 14th rank only.

Still, more and less successful years for both institutions are possible to notice. The highest average ranks for Bezborodko gymnasia of high sciences date of 1826 (6 of 11 graduates got rank 12), 1832 (8 of 17), while 1827 can hardly be called successful as only 3 students graduated that year. For the Tsarskoselskiy Lyceum the most prosperous years were 1832 (with 17 people achieving the 9th rank, one the 10th rank out of 24 graduates), 1835 (with 15 getting the 9th rank, 4 the 10th rank out of 25) and 1841 (with 15 people obtaining the 9th rank, 5 the 10th rank out of 28 graduates).

Table 6: Bezborodko Lyceum in Nezhin. The final career success of Lyceum graduates

number of students	final rank number									
year of graduation	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	12	no infor- mation	Total
1826	1	1	1	2		1			5	11
1827		1			1				1	3
1828			1	1	1			2	5	10
1829	3			1		3	1		5	13
1830	1		2	2	2	1			3	11
1831	1	1	2	3	3			1	9	20
1832	1	1	1	1	2	1	1		9	17
1833			1	1	4	2		3	6	17
Total	7	4	8	11	13	8	2	6	43	102

Table 7: Lyceum in Tsarskoe selo. The final career success of Lyceum graduates

number of students	final rank number												
year of graduation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	12	no infor- mation	Total
1817	1	3	7	4	1	3		2	2	1	2	3	29
1820		1	4	1	2	1						16	25
1823		1	4	6	2	3						8	24
1826		2	5	7	2	3				1		4	24
1829			6	7		4	1					7	25
1832			7	5	5	4	1					2	24
1835		5	2	9	1	2						6	25
1836		1	4	4		4						9	22
1838		1	3	5	1	1						7	18
1839		6	2	2	3		4					3	20
1841		1	5	3	3	5	4	3				4	28
1842		2	5	3	4	1	3					4	22
Total	1	23	54	56	24	31	13	5	2	2	2	73	286

It is also interesting to compare the final rank that the graduates of both Lyceums gained by the end of their lives. The information of the tables proves

that the higher initial rank the institution gave to its students the higher rank they got at the end of their career. So the graduation rank gave a good start to the students of Bezborodko gymnasia of high sciences, but the Lyceum in Tsarskoe Sselo provided a much better one for its own alumni. The highest rank for a Bezborodko gymnasia of high sciences graduates was the 4th, while some of the Tsarskoselskiy Lyceum graduates reached the highest possible 1st rank. The most frequently achieved rank for gymnasia of high sciences in Nejin was the 7th or 8th, while most of Tsarskoselskiy Lyceum students managed to get the 3rd-4th ranks and hardly ever received a rank lower than 7th. One should remember here that before 1856 grades starting with 8th created a civil officer a hereditary noble and the grades of 1st to the 5th were enjoyed by representatives of the highest bureaucracy.

The most successful graduates for Tsarskoselskiy Lyceum are these of the years 1817, 1826, 1835. For Bezborodko gymnasia of high sciences they did not sufficiently differ enough to point out any years.

Tables 8 and 9 describe the type of career and the choice of service area by the graduates. As both institutions were destined to prepare and educate civil service officials, the chart proves that this goal was achieved, because the majority of the graduates chose civil service instead of the military in spite of the fact that military service was considered more prestigious. In Bezborodko gymnasia of high sciences in Nejin 64 of 82 graduates (whom we have information about) became civil servants and only 16 – military. In this case we could distinguish a considerable number of those whose career was connected with public instruction – there were 17 such people (making a career in local educational institutions). As for the Tsarskoselskiy Lyceum: 150 of 182 graduates (according to the available data) became civil servants and only 18 preferred the military career track. Their number was comparable to the group of graduates opting for the diplomatic service.

Finally it is possible to find biographical references or full biographies of some of the graduates in biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias. Of such publications we have chosen *The reference-book of state officials in the Russian Empire* by D.N. Shilov¹⁶, where only the highest officials are mentioned; and the largest 86 volume *Encyclopaedic Dictionary Brokgaus & Efron*¹⁷. The graduates of Nejin Lyceum are found only in the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary*. Of 102 graduates 12 are mentioned there. As for the Tsarskoselskiy Lyceum 24 of 286 graduates are mentioned in *Encyclopaedic Dictionary* of Brokgaus & Efron and articles devoted to 9 of them also can be seen in *The reference-book of state officials in the Russian Empire* by D.N. Shilov.

¹⁶ Shilov D. N. *Gosudarstvennie deiateli Rossiyskoy Imperii. Glavy vysshikh i tsentralnykh uchrezhdeniy*. 1802-1917, Saint-Petersburg, 2001.

¹⁷ Entsiklopedichesky slovar' Brokgauza i Efrona, Saint-Petersburg, 1890-1907.

As a conclusion it is necessary to point out, that the 7 special institutions investigated had an intermediary position in the system of education and represented an alternative to universities in the Russian Empire in the first part of the 19th century. They aimed at providing well trained civil servants for the government. These institutions were destined mainly for the education of young noblemen, however some of them admitted children of non-noble descent. These high schools differed in status: the most privileged was the Lyceum in Tsarskoe Selo, the next step in this internal hierarchy being occupied by the noble pensions of Moscow and Saint-Petersburg universities while the less privileged were Demidov *utshilitshe* in Yaroslavl, Bezborodko gymnasia of high sciences in Nezhin and Rechelieu Lyceum in Odessa. Volynsky Lyceum in Kremenets was in many aspects an extraordinary institution because of its Polish character.

Table 8: Bezborodko Lyceum in Nezhin the choice of service by the graduates

number of students	service type					
year of graduation	Military service	doctors	Civil state service	Ministry of public education official or professor	no information	Total
1826	4		3	2	2	11
1827			2		1	3
1828	3		3	1	3	10
1829	1	1	8		3	13
1830	1		6	2	2	11
1831	2	1	9	6	2	20
1832	3		7	3	4	17
1833	2		9	3	3	17
Total	16	2	47	17	20	102

These 7 special privileged institutions contributed to the formation of Russian elite. During their limited period of existence they educated more than 2500-3000 students which is comparable to the number of university students of the same period. The intention to form skilled and loyal state officials was fulfilled. Most of the graduates became civil servants. Many of them owed their good profession fortune to their high school and the grade rank received thereby. Among the graduates of these institutions the names of many have become world famous (like those of A.S. Pushkin and N.V. Gogol). Many succeeded as men of letters, like popular writers, poets, translators and people of letters. A considerable number became eminent politicians or diplomats. Some of the graduates achieved a high career in the army.

Table 9: Lyceum in Tsarskoe Selo: the choice of service by the graduates

number of students	service type							
year of graduation	Military service	Science and culture	Court service	Civil state service	Ministry of public education official	Diplo-matic service	no infor-mation	Total
1817	9	2		15	1	2		29
1820	6			4	1	1	13	25
1823	1			8		1	14	24
1826	1			8		2	13	24
1829	1		3	8		1	12	25
1832		1	1	12	1	2	7	24
1835				15		3	7	25
1836		1	1	7		2	11	22
1838		1		8	1		8	18
1839			2	14			4	20
1841			1	15	2		10	28
1842			1	13	1	2	5	22
Total	18	5	9	127	7	16	104	286

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